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China
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The
Present Situation in China
and
Its Significance for
Christian Missions

ISSUED BY THE
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MEN OUGHT ALWAYS TO PRAY

The Christian cannot fail to see that God is expressing Himself in the spiritual re-creation taking place in China. Inevitably this is a matter of deepest concern, for it is indissolubly connected with the growth and development of His Kingdom on earth.

By throwing the whole power of their prayer and spiritual vigor into the balance Christians can help to make the impact of truth and righteousness invincible. They are faced with an opportunity without precedent in modern times and almost incomprehensible in its immensity. Conflicting idealisms, misconceptions, lack of sensitiveness, may irreparably delay or set back the flowering of Christ's spirit in the mind and heart of new China.

For these reasons the following are suggested as coming within the realm of prayer needed at this time:

1. That those who are leading Chinese thought may be actuated by unselfish motives, by pure purposes, directed by Divine wisdom, and empowered by the Holy Spirit.

2. That missionaries may be given the discernment of the great love to penetrate "accidentals," finding God's grace underlying and having the supremest consciousness of His undergirding presence, and confidence in His ability.

3. That evilly disposed persons may be effectually hindered from interfering with the legitimate expression and growth of those forces and ideas which directly result from the activity of the spirit of truth.

4. That all Christians may be rendered extremely sensitive to the vastness, the intricacy, the dangers, and the wondrous potency of the upheaval and unrest now manifest in the world as related to the extension of God's Kingdom.

5. That God's spirit may not be fettered in the slightest degree but that because of energies now released His Kingdom might break forth in the world in unmeasured richness and power and with a glory never before imagined.

China. No man can gauge her possibilities for affecting the future of the human race. To bring her in to the fold of endeavor and thus to link her up with all those who love God supremely is a task of unequalled magnitude. It challenges the utmost of faith. By joining forces now with God in a renewed devotion and consecration we can bring to pass a revolution of the spirit that shall overwhelm the forces of evil and go far toward the establishment of God's Kingdom in this generation.

Let us PRAY.

A CHANGING CHINA

The events of the last six months in China have attracted the attention of the world. Everyone has so long thought of China as the "sleeping giant" that it was with a start of surprise they found this ancient country claiming space on the front pages of the newspapers. As the situation has developed and people have come to comprehend a little more clearly what the disturbances are and what the Chinese are demanding, different groups have been asking themselves how this would affect their interests in China. Various interests have looked with real alarm at the new and seemingly sudden developments. Some commercial men have been quick to see peril for their business if diplomatic authorities should feel obliged to make terms with the Chinese representatives. Others have been equally ready to recognize the value of good will and generous acceptance of the Chinese point of view.

Not the least among the interests in China are the Christian forces. They have gone to China not for purposes of exploitation but in order to help the people and in their activities they have built up a Christian investment in China. Christians are not behind others in trying to pierce the unknown elements of the situation and see how it affects them. This little booklet is an effort to set forth in clear and straightforward terms how China's new day may influence the future of the Christian movement.

A study of this sort is the more important when we recall that the Chinese people comprise one quarter of the total population of the world, that they have had a continuous existence as a nation for longer than 4,000 years, and that the country also contains vast mineral and other natural resources awaiting development and improvement. Here then are the elements for mighty progress—the human resources in man-power, the vast material resources in the raw state, and the spiritual heritage of thousands of years. All that is lacking is the spark of self-consciousness for the "giant" to arise and set in motion forces that can shake the world. The awakening of this self-consciousness is going forward rapidly as recent events have witnessed.

China is beginning to wonder to-day whether Western nations are prepared to concede her rights or whether she will have to fight for them. Must she, despite her age-long pacific temper, adopt militarism in order to get back from those who hold her in bondage the freedom she is entitled to? It is a most serious question not only for China but for the rest of the world.

The Chinese people are essentially eirenic in disposition and they

are not at all eager to become slaves to militarism in order to throw off the shackles of the more galling bondage to Westerners. But they are seriously roused and apparently resolved to have freedom from Western domination at any cost. The picture of this tremendous nation building up a huge military machine should cause every Christian to give serious consideration to means of preventing it.

On the other hand the genius of the Chinese people is friendly, peaceful and thrifty. With their tremendous human and natural resources they can be of immense benefit to the family of nations. There is no question that China constitutes one of the largest potential markets in the world to-day for manufactured goods from other countries.

The spiritual processes of such a people are marvelous in their variety and richness. It is well within the range of conceivability that they should contribute most effectively toward the solution of those problems of international relationships that so frequently produce war.

We believe that the most noble course the Western world can follow to-day is the safest. Westerners should unstintingly give of their best to China instead of demanding the most from China.

The Christian enterprise has always stood for these highest ideals of brotherhood and justice for all people. They should stand as a unit to-day in the effort to uphold those principles which alone can secure to China freedom from the yoke of foreign bondage and an opportunity so to develop as to contribute not only to her own upbuilding but to the greater sense of solidarity of all mankind. Half-way measures will be provocative of greater ills. Let the Christian movement in China face the future without the handicap of our Western psychology and interference.

The modern missionary enterprise in China dates from 1807 when Robert Morrison landed at Canton in South China. In the early years of his stay he was able to remain in the country only by living disguised as a Chinese. So great were the difficulties encountered in proclaiming Christianity that at the end of his life he could count only a handful of those who had accepted his message of truth. After thirty years of effort one of the earliest missionaries by the greatest exercise of faith, predicted that at the end of a hundred years there would probably be a thousand Christians in China. These early messengers of the Cross were face to face with a different civilization. The Chinese values of life were most difficult to understand and their cultural qualities were far removed from the missionaries' appreciation.

It is now only a few years more than a century, yet the Christian enterprise has grown far beyond the vision of its pioneers. Just a few statistics will help us in gaining some idea of its importance.

There are approximately 8,000 missionaries in China. Associated with them in Christian work are about 27,000 Chinese. There are between five and six thousand organized churches, having about 550,000 baptized members.

The property owned for Christian purposes is valued at many millions of dollars. No one has ever been able accurately to appraise its value. If you will, stop for a moment and try to visualize some of the material manifestations of the spread of Christianity. There are the church buildings, scattered in the many cities and towns. There are the residences in which the missionaries live. Throughout China are a large number of hospitals and orphanages erected by missionaries. The schools and colleges which have grown up constitute a monument to Christianity in almost numberless communities. There are printing presses and publishing houses that add their share to the material side of the Christian investment in China. There are probably not far from 300,000 students in Christian schools in China to-day.

But we must not put our trust in figures. A mere enumeration of statistics cannot in any sense measure the quality of the investment of Christian missions in China. If it requires imagination for us to picture the material structures which Christianity has built up how much more must we give it play when we seek to visualize the spiritual side of Christianity's accomplishment in that great country!

The missionary has gone to place his life alongside the lives of a great people. Together with the Chinese who are engaged with the missionaries in Christian work there are 35,000 people actively employed in proclaiming the kingdom of Heaven throughout China. They are spreading a gospel of good will. They are living in the most intimate contact with the daily concerns of the Chinese people. They are striving by preaching and teaching, by healing and helping, to win them to friendship with Jesus Christ. Nor must we overlook the lives of the more than half million Christians that are focal points of the contagion of righteousness.

The result is beyond calculation. The latent spiritual perception of this great nation is being awakened—a conscience aroused—an idealism brought to life. Evidences are not lacking that in China the kingdom of God is beginning to be a reality.

The Christian investment in China affects the whole destiny of the Chinese people. This is a day when contacts with Western nations are causing Chinese young people to cast aside many of the most sacred traditions and time-honored usages of their society. All the strength and power of the Christian heaven is needed to help guide the nation to dependence on the highest moral ideals. All the help of Christian people is needed to keep the face of this new and changing China toward the light of Christ.

Christians have scattered the seed of the Gospel. It is growing up to a fruitage fraught with tremendous consequences. No one to-day can destroy the Christian investment in China. It is too firmly established—too securely placed. It might be possible to restrict its growth or to hinder its natural development, but it is too firmly planted to permit of its being eradicated. Our problem is to discover how Christian people in this country can most effectively contribute to the advancement and building up of this great work in China.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA

Such full accounts of the recent disturbances in China have appeared in the newspapers that a complete rehearsal of them here is unnecessary. We shall therefore mention only the main points in outline and thus lead up to the matters of critical importance.

Labor difficulties in Shanghai during the spring of 1925 occurring in some of the foreign-owned cotton mills offered an opportunity for certain college students interested in social welfare work to take a hand. In a dispute which took place in one of the Japanese cotton mills a Chinese worker was shot by a Japanese overseer. A large memorial service for this worker was led by the students. This meeting was broken up by the police, who arrested six students on the charge of making speeches which tended to disturb the peace.

On May 30 a number of groups of students appeared in Nanking Road to protest against the detention of their comrades in jail. A little later a crowd had gathered in front of the jail and appeared to the police so threatening that they opened fire after the crowd had been ordered to disperse without success. Four Chinese were killed outright and five others died later. There seems to be general agreement that the crowd was not armed.

The immediate result of this shooting was a great uproar that spread throughout China. Disturbances occurred in other places, and in Hankow and Canton both, shootings occurred which resulted in loss of life. Demonstrations were carried out against the foreigners with particular venom displayed against the British and the Japanese. Strikes were called in various places. In Shanghai they were so general that the public services had to be manned by foreigners. Marines were landed and a state approaching war existed for several weeks. In Canton the foreigners were all obliged to leave the city and remove to Hongkong, so dangerous did the situation appear.

Feeling ran so high and the accounts of events varied so greatly that there arose a very general demand that an impartial investigation be conducted to determine the facts and the responsibility in the Shanghai affair. A diplomatic commission was sent to Shanghai from Peking but its findings were never made public. This produced a very bad impression among the Chinese and hindered the efforts to restore a normal situation. It is now reported that a judicial investigation is under way which it is hoped will make it possible to fix the responsibility where it belongs.

Causes of the Disturbances

According to the attitude of the individual various causes have been assigned for these troubles. Prominent among these have been the labor difficulties. Many of the mills in Shanghai are owned by

foreigners. Working conditions in these mills are admittedly bad. Those responsible for the mills claim they are much better than Chinese-owned mills. Some college students have been trying to improve the situation. The incident of the shooting of the workman with the consequent imprisonment and shooting of students and other Chinese by foreigners was undoubtedly the match that set off the explosion.

Another cause that has been given much publicity is Bolshevism. There is no question that there has been a great deal of communist propaganda going on in China financed from Moscow. Literature has been seized, schools have been closed and a great hue and cry have been raised. In Canton this influence is much stronger than elsewhere. Evidently these agents have gained a foothold among the revolutionary elements of South China. It would be wrong to ascribe too much of the commotion to this cause, however. There can be little doubt that the Bolshevik agents made use of a situation and probably contributed to its more violent manifestations, but that they are in any large sense responsible is doubtful.

Another cause has been given as the general attitude of foreigners in China toward the Chinese. In this connection the list of grievances which the Chinese adduce is a long one running back through the years. The foreigner has intruded himself on China, setting up regulations and conducting business in a manner that gives little or no consideration for the Chinese point of view. All this is in spite of the fact that the Chinese feel that the country belongs to them and that all foreigners are interlopers. Some of the grievances appear in the list of thirteen demands which we shall presently consider.

But under all the surface causes, far more deep-seated, and the real wellspring of the present situation, is the developing self-consciousness of the Chinese people. This is sometimes styled nationalism. The mission and government schools, the increasing contacts with the western world, the rebuffs which China has suffered at the hands of other nations, have all had their effect in bringing about the present mind of China. The reverse side of this has been their own realization of shortcomings at home, the lack of any stable government, the bandits, and the military chieftains. These things have been rather gloatingly pointed out to China by western powers along with much free advice of an unpalatable nature. So that there has grown up a sort of hopeless fury at the seemingly unbreakable coils of surrounding circumstances. There has been growing through recent years a restless idealism looking for some way to express itself. And then the shooting occurred and the fire was in the powder!

Influence of Christian Students

Because these demonstrations have been so largely sponsored by the student groups in China whose enthusiasm for reform has sometimes led them to excesses of behavior it is of importance that we note the part which the Christian students have been able to play. In the report of the student demonstrations in Peking contained in the Man-

chester Guardian Weekly of June 19, 1925, this statement is made: "Thirty thousand students and workers paraded past the Legation quarter shouting denunciations of the British and Japanese, flying innumerable banners. . . . The demonstrators preserved excellent order, due to the restraining influence of the Christian students who captured control of the movement on Sunday and by means of numerous marshals kept Monday's crowds constantly on the move." It is probable that Christian students were not so successful in some other centers in directing the activities of the demonstrators and keeping them within peaceful channels but they were able to render splendid service at many points.

Chinese Public Opinion

Before considering the Chinese demands in detail, it is necessary to point out that behind the present patriotic movement stands the united opinion of the Chinese people, both north and south. Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, President of Yenching University, Peking, China, declares:

"In attempting to interpret the relationship of America to the present situation in China as seen by one who has quite recently come from there, the first and indeed the one all-important fact to which I would call attention is that the present real government of China is public opinion.

"The Provincial Government now functioning in Peking merely puts official sanction upon the popular voice. Those men could not stay in office if they failed to express and to endorse the will of the people, and, as a matter of fact, they are all in the heartiest sympathy with it. Never before in their long history have the Chinese people been so unanimous, so well informed, and so deeply stirred as they are now over this issue of their sovereign rights in relation to other countries. The phenomenon of a vast populace which, for the last fourteen years, since the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, has been notoriously distracted by factional differences, now unified at least so far as concerns their demand for the revision of unequal treaties, is one of surpassing significance.

"The Chinese people, without exception, so far as I have observed, are at one in this sentiment. The students, held largely responsible, are merely the most highly sensitized part of the population. This nationalistic self-consciousness has been slowly forming for many years, more recently with amazing celerity; but it formed into a ferment of vivid and violent energy immediately on hearing of the shooting affray in Shanghai on May 30th. It has become highly organized and is quite articulate. It is a striking instance of real democracy, this sheer, unmitigated rule of the whole people on a living issue, with all the idealism and all the dangers of such a situation."

So far as Christians are concerned, Rev. Ralph A. Ward, D.D., a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, writing from Peking, says:

"The non-Chinese Christian is impressed by the fact that the issues recently come to focus in China have united all Christian Chinese with every non-Christian Chinese who is in protest against the existing order of international relationships, whatever differences of judgment there may be as to methods for changing that order. Neither I nor any of the many foreigners whom I have asked have found a single exception to this unanimity.

"In other periods, on other international issues where China was affected, there have been radical differences of opinion among leading Christian Chinese.

Not so to-day. A Christian of whatever race who seeks to understand the present situation does well to note this unity."

What the Chinese Demand*

This united opinion in China stands behind thirteen demands issued by the government and later supplemented by a fourteenth demand. These demands were originally framed by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, the most influential business group in China, were endorsed by labor and educational and student groups of Chinese and later accepted as the basis for government action. These thirteen demands may be grouped for convenience in two sections. The first, covering seven points, deals directly with the shooting of May 30, and calls for apology, compensation, punishment of offenders, release of Chinese arrested, reinstatement of strikers and betterment of labor conditions. The second deals with general questions long a source of friction, which, according to the Chinese, were the underlying causes of the Shanghai affair. These demands, six in number, include revision of the Mixed Court, municipal franchise for Chinese ratepayers in the Foreign Settlement, freedom of speech and the press, and withdrawal of several proposed municipal, Shanghai Settlement, statutes.

Fundamentally, however, all of the Chinese demands are concentrated into the fourteenth point in this list which calls for a revision of the so-called unequal treaties. In particular this refers to the problem of extraterritoriality and that of customs control.

Extraterritoriality†

According to Charles Sumner Lobingier, former Judge of the United States Court in Shanghai: "Extraterritoriality, or more properly 'extraterritorial jurisdiction,' is a system under which a sovereign Power retains full control of its nationals in territory outside of its own. This necessarily excludes the exercise of control over the same national by the sovereign Power of the territory in which he is located. In other words the national remains under his own laws and institutions instead of becoming amenable to those of the locality." (China Mission Year Book, 1924.)

Thus an American citizen in any part of China who in any way infringes the law, civil or criminal, cannot be haled before a Chinese court but must be tried before a tribunal set up by the United States. This, of course, means that the United States assumes full obligation for the conduct of its nationals in China.

Twenty-two nations have made treaties with China. Germany and Austria lost the rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction when China declared war in 1917. Russia renounced these rights in 1924. The treaties made by Bolivia and Persia in 1919 and 1920 also renounced

*See Appendix I.

†See Appendices II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII.

these rights. The nationals of the other seventeen "treaty Powers" have these privileges of extraterritoriality. At the present time of the 123,223 Westerners in China, 34,878 have extraterritorial privileges and 88,345, including both Germans and Russians, do not have such rights. Extraterritoriality applies, also, to Japanese in China, who number 201,704. (The Statesman's Year Book, 1925.)

Consular Courts

Foreigners who have extraterritorial rights in China and who are charged with violation of the law are tried in the Consular Courts of their own government. Thus the American consuls in China and the American minister in Peking are empowered to try all American citizens "charged with offenses against the law and to issue all the necessary writs and processes." (W. W. Willoughby, "Foreign Rights and Interests in China.")

In view of the fact that most of the American Consular officials, called upon to act in this judicial capacity, were not trained in the law there was considerable diversity in the method of handling cases. As a result, in 1906, the American Congress created a United States Court for China to which are transferred all cases of major importance. This Court, with a Judge and a District Attorney appointed by the President of the United States, was located in Shanghai. The British government also maintains a Court in Shanghai.

Mixed Courts

In accordance with the principle that the foreign authorities in the international settlements do not have jurisdiction over Chinese citizens, "Mixed Courts" have been established in Shanghai and Amoy and in the French Concession in Shanghai. These courts deal with all cases arising in the settlement in which a Chinese is a defendant and a foreigner the plaintiff, and with cases of violation by a Chinese of municipal regulations. Cases of foreigners not having extraterritorial rights also come before these courts. All cases in which other foreigners are the defendants are tried in the consular courts. In these Mixed Courts the magistrate is appointed by the Chinese government and foreign assessors represent the consular authorities. These assessors can make statements, examine witnesses, and generally see that foreign interests are given adequate and fair consideration, but they do not share in the judgments of the court. The laws which are administered are the Chinese codes and the municipal legislation. Appeals from these Courts are made to the Chinese Courts.

When the revolution occurred and the Chinese government was overthrown in 1911, the Mixed Courts were taken over by the Consular Bodies in Shanghai and Amoy who reappointed the magistrates then in office in order to maintain the courts; when the Republic was recognized by the Western Powers, the government of China requested that these Mixed Courts be returned to its jurisdiction. In due time, this was done in Amoy, but the request was not acceded to in

Shanghai, where it has been a matter of controversy for more than ten years. Under the existing status of the Court in Shanghai, there is no appeal from its decisions to any other tribunal. Moreover, the foreign authorities in that court still continue to exercise jurisdiction over Chinese citizens, as the Chinese magistrate continues to be the appointee of the foreign consuls.

Treaty Ports

Treaty Ports are those cities in which, by international agreement with China, foreigners are permitted to reside and carry on business. There are, at present, 49 of these ports. Only missionaries are allowed to reside and carry on work outside these cities, and foreigners—not missionaries—are allowed to travel in the interior only when provided with passports authorizing them to do so. Since the treaties of 1858 and 1860 missionaries are permitted to travel and reside and acquire property for missionary work anywhere in China. Most of them live outside the treaty ports.

Customs Autonomy

A further fundamental demand of the Chinese relates to the restoration of customs autonomy to China.

China's import and export tariffs are determined by its treaties with foreign Powers. This system was established by the treaties of 1842-44, which were negotiated for the purpose of abolishing the exactions and other obstacles to foreign trade previously practiced by the Chinese authorities. The treaties limit the tariff to five per cent *ad valorem*. The new treaty, negotiated at the Washington Conference, and finally ratified in July, 1925, provides for a modification of these duties. It is to bring about this modification that the present conference is convened.

The Customs Service, which collects the duties and administers other regulations in connection with import and export trade in the open ports, maintaining lighthouses and other aids to navigation, etc., is entirely under the Chinese Government, which employs foreigners of all nationalities as well as its own citizens in this work. The only restriction upon the Chinese Government in the control of this service is the provision that the Inspector General is always to be a British subject so long as the British share in the import and export trade of China is larger than that of any other nation.

The Customs Revenues are paid over to the Chinese Government, which has, however, given almost all of it as security for the payment of interest on its foreign loans, since the first of these foreign loans was negotiated after the China-Japan war in 1894.

Status of Missionaries

The status of missionaries in China is set forth by Rev. A. L. Warnshuis, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, as follows:

"The first missionary of the Protestant Churches to go to China arrived in 1807. Up to 1842, the position of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries was contrary to the laws of China, which prohibited all foreigners from residing in the country, and permitted the traders to visit Canton only during the trading season each year. At the end of each trading season, the foreigners were compelled to retire to Macao. The first Protestant missionaries went to Canton as in the employ of the trading houses.

"By the treaties of 1842 and 1844, five ports were opened for foreign residence. The missionaries, like other foreigners, could reside in the open ports, and were permitted to erect churches there, but there was no stipulation giving them any liberty to seek converts, and they had no legal right to reside or even to travel in the interior, or to purchase property there.

"However, when the treaties were revised in 1858-60, each of these contained a guarantee of toleration for Christianity, and a promise of protection in the exercise of their faith not only to missionaries but also either explicitly or by implication to Chinese Christians. The Russian minister was the first to formulate such an article on religious toleration, by which the Chinese government agreed 'not to persecute its Christian subjects for the exercise of the duties of their religion,' and to give permission to a fixed number of missionaries to travel in the interior to propagate their faith. In the negotiation of the American treaty of 1858, an article on Christianity was inserted as a result of the persistent efforts of the interpreters, S. Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin, both of whom were missionaries. This article reads as follows:

"Article XXIX.—The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested. . . .

"The advantages and disadvantages of these toleration clauses have been debated by missionaries from the time of their first enactment. Among the advantages claimed, it is pointed out that these clauses have made possible most of the missionary activity of the Christian Church in the interior in China from 1858 to this day. To the missionaries was given the right to preach throughout the empire, and the protection of law for their lives and property. While Christianity does not depend upon treaties and political power for its propagation, these articles prevented the government of China from becoming a persecuting agency. The weak and inexperienced churches were spared the ordeal of persecution and were sheltered until time had been given for their growth in numbers, influence, and intelligent comprehension, and in faith and courage. On the other hand, the very serious disadvantage that arose out of the placing of Chinese Christians under the protection of foreign powers must be recognized. To be sure, it was only as protectors of the faith of the converts that a foreign power could legally intervene, but in practice the result was to separate the Chinese Christians from the mass of their fellow countrymen, and to make of them an enclave under the defense of aliens. So much was this the case, that until comparatively recent years the Chinese authorities unwisely but persistently made a sharp distinction in the terms used to describe Christian and other Chinese subjects. Moreover, because of this protection, there were brought into the churches those with unworthy motives who feigned conversion. These clauses were a serious blow to the prestige and sovereignty of the Chinese State, as they practically removed Chinese Christians from its jurisdiction. Under them the missionary came as part of the aggressive West, depending on agreements wrested from the Chinese government by war. His message, accordingly, could not but be compromised and often was misunderstood. By no means every missionary or every Chinese Christian invoked their defense, and so far

as the Christians are concerned these clauses in practice have become almost a dead letter. Moreover, through faithful and consistent living, both missionaries and Chinese Christians have overcome many of the disadvantages of these treaties and have witnessed to the coming of what a multitude of Chinese have acknowledged to be a new spiritual and religious power into the ancient Middle Kingdom."

The Missionary Point of View*

There is, of course, a wide divergence in the point of view of various groups of missionaries in China in regard to the present situation. A small group stands with the opinion represented by a missionary from Hangchow who recently declared:

"We hope the Powers will now come forward and give China, not a good scolding, but good, sound, healthy advice and help her by taking her by the hand and lifting her up to her own, and bringing her in line with other civilized nations of the world." He adds, "I do not approve of missionaries dabbling in politics."

This same group, doubtless, would stand with a prominent missionary who is reported to have said:

"What hinders the Chinese people from unification, from being recognized as equals, is not lack of ability—for that they have—it is lack of common honesty. These people have not learned to say no. They cannot tell the truth as they ought to tell it, and cannot handle other people's money without putting it into their own pockets. . . ."

The vast majority of missionaries, however, are believed to stand for an attitude more sympathetic toward the demands of the Chinese. This position is illustrated in a number of significant statements. One of them, printed herewith, was addressed to Secretary Kellogg and signed, among others, by Bishop Lauress J. Birney of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

"But, on the other hand, there is at the present time a widespread and almost unanimous feeling of protest against the unfairness in existing treaties, including those with America. This has accelerated the national movement, which is fundamentally not anti-foreign, but which may become a menace to world peace.

"With these experiences and reflections in mind, we greet with profound satisfaction and relief the report that our Government contemplates calling a conference of powers to consider the retrocession of extraterritoriality. We approve the conditions suggested in the press reports, the 'codification of China's criminal and civil laws,' the 'establishment of a responsible Chinese judiciary,' and the 'acceptance by Chinese factions of the responsibility of the Chinese Central Government,' because they will provide necessary safeguards and involve no infringement of Chinese sovereignty. We feel that the risks involved will be far outweighed by the resultant advantages in faith and good-will.

"We also feel that the control of its own tariff, internal revenue, and territory is essential to the sovereignty of any nation, and since the nations assembled at Washington promised to respect the sovereignty of China, it is imperative that these promises now be kept. We feel that a conciliatory attitude is a sign of strength, and we believe the time has come when the unfair treaties now binding China should be revised.

*See Appendix VII.

"We therefore hope that the forthcoming conference will deal not only with extraterritoriality but will widen its scope to include the revision of treaties so that all discriminations against the Chinese, as a nation and as a people—extraterritoriality, foreign concessions, and foreign control of the Chinese tariff and internal revenue—shall be abolished as soon as reasonably possible.

"(Signed) W. E. SCHUBERT, Chairman;
PAUL G. HAYES, Secretary;
L. J. BIRNEY, Bishop;
and fifty-two others."

Another such statement, more positive, perhaps, follows:

"We, the undersigned, wish to state publicly that in harmony with the practice of many missionaries and of some missions in the past, we earnestly desire that no foreign military force be exerted to protect us or our property, that under no circumstances should punitive expeditions be sent out in our behalf, and that no indemnities be exacted on our account.

"We wish to make it clear that we have no authority to speak for our missions and sign simply in our individual capacities. At the same time we hold that this position is necessarily involved in the true idea of missionary work and so far as our mission boards have not yet accepted it we wish to work to this end.

"We do not intend, by this statement, to disavow our citizenship, but we do propose to use such influence as we have to persuade our governments to recognize our right to take this stand, and, without prejudice to those who cannot take it, to refrain from any action contrary thereto."

That some missionary administrators are prepared to act upon the basis of convictions expressed above is apparent from the following statement of Rev. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, Secretary of The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made at the Conference on American Relations with China:

After outlining the vast interests of the missionary enterprise in China, Doctor Diffendorfer said that all of the advices received from China in recent months from experienced missionary leaders indicate that we have an entirely new situation to deal with, one that we have never faced before in China, a situation which makes it impossible any longer for us to evade the main issue, the fundamental attitude of the Treaty Powers toward the sovereignty and integrity of China. After considering all that is involved, he said that he would recommend to the Board of Foreign Missions that the Board should declare itself in favor of relinquishing the toleration clauses of China's treaties with the Powers which accord special privileges to missionaries as missionaries, and to support the United States Government in vigorous leadership for the abolition of extraterritoriality at the earliest possible date. Doctor Diffendorfer also said that henceforth all missionaries who had been sent out to China under the old conditions, "who cannot live among the people for whom they are messengers of good will and love, under the new conditions in China, should be permitted to return to the United States."

The Challenge to Missions

The challenge of the present situation in China is not essentially

different from what it has always been. There is perhaps a difference in the form in which it comes to us, or it may be that it is colored by a little different light, but there is no change in the substance. There is an undiminished opportunity to proclaim the righteousness of the kingdom of God, and there are still hundreds of millions who have not found that Kingdom.

The challenge of the present is not necessarily the expressed challenge of an individual or a group. It lies rather in the whole situation as it is developing in China. We find an awakening people who understand better than they ever have what are some of the implications of living in the world to-day. We find young Chinese seeking opportunities for expression such as their fathers would have scorned. From many sources, some articulate, some without the power of formulating their thought, questions and challenges are being flung at the missionary work to an extent that has scarcely been equalled in history. It is our problem as loyal Christians to understand and interpret this challenging spirit of China in such terms that we can then supply the needs of the situation.

So far as the missionary enterprise is concerned, there are two broad fields in which this challenge operates. It comes with most impact upon those loyal and devoted souls, the missionaries themselves. It comes again to those of us who remain in this country and support the great work with our prayers and our interest and our money.

Let us mention first three ways in which this challenge presents itself to the missionaries.

One aspect is the renewed emphasis on the old doctrine, the missionary must decrease and the Chinese increase. The present situation warns us that in spite of difficulties or obstacles the burdens must be shifted. They must be dumped onto the Chinese, if necessary, in order to get the change effected. So long as the missionary acts as patron saint and "Lord Bountiful" the Christian cause can never come to vigor of expression or vitality of character. The missionary *must* decrease so that the Chinese *can* increase.

Whether we like it or not, it appears certain that the day of the missionary bulking large as an outstanding statesman is practically over. There have been missionaries of vision and courage, many of them, who have labored patiently and sacrificially in the vineyard and whose lives will always be a sainted memory for their friends in China. But after our true Western fashion our preaching has been overt, dictatorial, masterly and preceptual. Jesus taught men how to live by living with them. Probably the seed of the Gospel would have found more favored lodging places in human hearts had it been warmed by the sun of human sympathy and understanding. The time is ripe for the missionary to decrease, in fact, to fall into the soil of Chinese life and die, in order that thereby much fruit may result.

If the present movement in China means anything it means that the sooner the Chinese Church is in the control of the Chinese the sooner the world can discover whether Christianity as a way of life

has taken a vital hold on China. If it has not the efforts of one hundred and twenty-five years of missions are in vain. If it has, then we do not need to worry about the way in which Chinese Christians carry on. In either case, it is time to put the issue to the test.

Another feature of the challenge to the missionary is that he must keep his eye, his spiritual eye, if you will, fixed on the essentials. How he is to accomplish this is something we do not need to discuss here. Our purpose is only to show that out of the seething East is coming a great demand to know why we are preaching a doctrine that as nations we fail to practice. The missionary must be tremendously on the alert that he does not in any sense impede the movements of the Spirit of God. They are eagerly questing to see whether the missionary really thinks as he preaches. We cannot impress them to-day with emphasis on forms and ceremonies and technicalities. Their alertness is born of a new spiritual perception. There is a laying waste of old forms and customary barriers and the time-honored restraints. To them the church form is not of consequence. They seek the inner guiding spirit, the controlling motive. You may hear it said, "They do not know what they want," and in a multitude of cases this is true. But like the men of all ages they have buried in them the likeness of the divine, and it does not let them rest. Now in China it is stirred to fresh manifestation. They are seeking for a better way. It is the way of life that Jesus claimed to be. The only way in which it can be revealed to them is through the absolute reliance on the Spirit of God. By the dynamic of the Christ life they can find the goal of their dreams. The challenge of the present is to dependence on the warm free-moving untrammelled ways of the spirit, not on organization, stiff and cold with its rigid formularies.

It is no easy task to frame the third aspect of this challenge. There is involved the most delicate appreciation of the most elusive of God's creations, personality. Christianity has heralded to the world the value of the individual. Jesus Christ died for you, for me. Each individual has a share in the great glad tidings. The result of this sort of preaching has sometimes been to minister mightily to our own esteem, and to commiserate the poor beggars who haven't received the teaching. Too often Christians have overlooked or ignored that very pregnant remark of our Lord's when He said, "The kingdom of heaven is within you." We have gone about our task of evangelizing the world rather with the idea of doing a favor either to the people or to God, than with the idea of recognizing the image of God in them. We have been obsessed by the metaphors of warfare. We must fight the foe of sin and ignorance and superstition. So much so that we have frequently failed to recognize the likenesses there were to the Son of God among those to whom we went.

Have we been able to see the kingdom of God within the Chinese? But it is there. Doubtless there are missionaries who will never be able to accept or understand this feature of the present challenge. It would be strange if it were not so. But the Chinese to-day need to be re-

spected and trusted and encouraged for the sake of the Kingdom within. Only as this is accomplished can Christianity really grip and hold the imagination and loyalty of the Chinese.

Let us turn now to a consideration of the second field in which this challenge operates, namely, the Christian people of the United States and Canada.

You who are reading this booklet have not come thus far through its pages without catching some glimpse of tremendously significant movements taking place in a country that has only startled the world once in her history. No matter how we may appraise what is going on, we cannot fail to recognize that China is no longer the slumbering giant we have long talked about. Astonishing things are in the way of taking place. The preceding pages have given us some intimation of the significance of these things. Now we should think of how they affect us, as Christians, who have held ourselves responsible under the divine command of sending ministers of His message to save the Chinese people.

Future Missionary Efforts

Let us fairly face the question of the continuance of missionary activity in China. Can we justify it? How may we think conclusively on this problem?

This question can be answered by us as Christians only on the basis of essential character and quality of the Christian message. Let us freely recognize that such supporting help as may come from ecclesiastical organizations is only support and not the message itself. Let us admit that the gospel of love and truth and righteousness is God's gift to all men, not to any one race or country. The message is His message and not ours. We are simply making possible the wider knowledge of the Christ life to the world. The world has not accepted it as yet. Therefore we must not confuse the meager results in Western life with the true worth of the gospel itself. The problem is whether we are prepared to allow the life of Christ to be disattached from its historic "pillars" and reared among another people freed from these incumbrances. If we cannot allow it—but insist that the vehicle is just as essential as the message it is built to safeguard and express we have answered the challenge of the Chinese at this one point at least.

For there is a large group of very sensitive Chinese young men to-day who are trying to discover whether Christianity is a life or a set of doctrines, or a church organization. They strongly suspect that the heart of the matter is the life of Christ but that Western Christians, in fear lest this life with all its implications would not be understood, have had to say a lot of things about it which serve to obscure its true beauty, and not to illuminate it.

Most of them are ready to admit that Jesus Christ proclaimed very vital truth. But they are not willing to subscribe to Western interpretations of that truth. If somehow we could hand them the unadulterated

gospel free from our Western theological appurtenances they could be won to His life service.

So the challenge to the Christian Church of the West to-day is to keep in mind the essential values and not stress the accidentals. We recognize at once that these values are spiritual.

China is in the midst of a vast upheaval in the spiritual realm. It is not a matter of days or weeks but of years. The process is one of growth and development and will be going on for decades to come. But we must not ignore her gropings for the light nor her searching questions as she seeks to find her way over new paths. It is a time most critical in the seeds for future development. The Spirit of the Christ is most urgently needed for guidance and for strengthening. We cannot desert China in these days when she needs this Spirit of Divine Love in such unstinted measure. The challenge is that we shall recognize this fact and stand by to the last.

Another element of challenge that should not escape our attention is the tremendous need which China has now for sympathy and understanding. We cannot afford to deal obliquely or cavalierly with her. She is beginning to awaken to some of the indignities that have been heaped upon her at the hands of Western civilizations and she is full of dreams of righteousness and justice, very largely the product of our missionary teaching, and already disillusionment is in danger of producing disastrous consequences.

Let us look at the situation in China in the perspective of time and from the standpoint of the Chinese people and appreciate something of the mental and spiritual readjustments they must undergo as education penetrates deeper and deeper and they realize what are the issues of life in the modern world.

Missionaries have struggled hard and labored lovingly and long to produce in the Chinese a recognition of truth and righteousness and justice as revealed in Christ. They have sought to liberate the Chinese mind from "its bondage of superstition." Now the tree is coming to fruit. It may not be the kind of fruit the missionary hoped for, it may be sour to his mouth, but it is fruit, forced in some instances perhaps, but still natural fruit of what has been done.

Let us not therefore condemn out of hand the ebullitions of Chinese school boys. We should rather have regard to the larger movements of Chinese thought life seeking to find a natural expression in the world. They may quite likely blunder about a bit like a very young animal or a growing boy whose muscles are not coordinated. But there are immense possibilities in the Chinese people and they are most eager to lay their contributions on the table with the other nations of the world and help to solve those harassing and perplexing problems of human relationships that face the world to-day. They have a store of natural philosophy and of sane and quiet wisdom that will greatly advantage the world if we will only keep step with them.

The challenge that faces us then is to keep our heads and not be unduly incensed or excited about surface troubles but in sympathy and

understanding see to the heart of China and let her feel the beating of our heart alongside hers.

Now this demands of us faith and courage. We may reasonably hope that our national governments may have every respect for China's effort to secure her freedom from galling restrictions. This is the traditional attitude of our governments.

We must not fool ourselves into a state of security in feeling that all is well in China. Far from it. But affairs can be greatly improved simply by letting China know we are with her in her struggles toward the light and liberation from bondage of all kinds. We will need to preserve our faith in the vital worth of the Chinese people and in their ability to live and function as good neighbors in a troubled world. We need to keep burning brightly before us our faith in the essential good intentions of China. Much of the suspicion cast upon her in the past has been by Western nations who were seeking some cause for trouble. Anyone who really knows the Chinese loves them. They can command one's highest admiration.

We will need to keep up our courage in maintaining our friendly attitude. Untoward incidents that may develop should not rob us of our purpose to be consistently friendly. We need also courage to insist that the Christian Church in China is fundamentally their concern and they must accept responsibility for its upbuilding and development along lines which will completely and fully satisfy their natural genius.

A challenge implies danger. The danger here is that we shall fail to act as we should in this period. To hesitate or to do nothing is to fatally miss a wonderful opportunity. To persist regardless of changed conditions is to arrive at certain futility.

To meet the challenge with large vision and the warmth of God's own Spirit in dealing with them will be to accomplish great things for Him. Someone has said, "The Spirit of God is loose in the world." Can we not recognize that God calls to us in clarion tones—not to try to harness His power, but to live completely His life among men and thus to show them the wondrousness of His way of life and its complete effectiveness to solve all our problems? China calls us to a new day in the kingdom of God. The sun of His Righteousness is rising clear. Let us not obscure it with human clouds but rather make its beauty plain to every heart.

There is bitter anti-Christian agitation in many parts of China—but, likewise, Christian Chinese, in the face of such propaganda, are demonstrating the superiority of that spiritual possession to which they have laid claim.

In a certain district in the south of China a Chinese Christian teacher was attacked and severely injured because he dared to send his sons to a mission school in spite of the threats of terrorists who sought to close these schools. Following the attack this Christian wrote a letter to his assailants—a letter which illustrated rather clearly the sort of contribution that Christianity, in China, is making to the national life.

"TO MY FORMER DEAR STUDENTS:

"SIRS:

"Yesterday four of you stopped and attacked me at the lodge of the Cheng family. As to how I was wounded, there is no need of speaking as the matter is now a bygone. I am ashamed of myself because my moral excellence has been so weak that I have not been able to imitate the love of my Lord Jesus and so help my fellow men. Having sustained minor injuries, how would I dare, for such a small matter, to join issue with you? . . .

"If you wish me to submit, you must bind me by the use of reason. You must not coerce me by the use of your pomp. The man who submits under coercion has not standing as a man. If I lose my standing as a man, though I may be alive, I am as one dead, and of what use to you would my submission be? At the present time our country has too many of such men—men who regard life and glory as gain and death and insult as injury and do not regard as important righteousness, temperance, virtue. They live from day to day in an indifferent manner without the least self-determination. Alas! why do not you, enthusiastic souls, think up some method for making the people of our country all understand righteousness, be governed by righteousness and be willing to die for righteousness?

". . . Jesus is the one I serve and the truth is what I submit to. Where there are right principles, there is life; where there are no right principles, there is death. To take away my right principles is to rob me of life as well as to take away my standing as a man.

"My formerly beloved students, the death of my body is not worthy of regret. I hope you can be aroused to a sense of your wrong. I am praying to God in your behalf. Much more do I desire to see your face that we may pray together before the benevolent and merciful God."

Young China, to-day, is seeking to evaluate not only the Christian Church, but Christianity itself. It is doubtful if ever before, among any people, have a nation's youth been of so earnestly an inquiring mind in matters pertaining to religion. But in the midst of the deepest suspicion of organized religion—as sometimes manifested in the actions of so-called religious peoples—there is an intense interest in the person and teachings of Jesus.

In the present situation the Chinese are eagerly waiting to know what the Christian voice of the West will be. If Christianity has been put to an academic test, during the past few years in China, now, certainly, is its practical testing time. Chinese believe that now, as at no previous time, are Christians faced with the opportunity of demonstrating that, regardless of the criticisms levelled against it, the Christian Church can demonstrate, in practical terms, the faith that it represents.

A newspaper correspondent—a Chinese—puts the Christian opportunity in the following declaration:

"Upon Christians throughout the world, therefore, rests a responsibility to evidence their faith by a practical application of the teachings of the Prince of Peace. Do they believe in their hearts that Christ is the apostle of peace? that right is greater than might? that justice is a condition which race, creed nor color affects? that it is un-Christian to oppress and sinful to regard with levity those principles of human conduct which are the essence of what was pro-

claimed by the gentle Nazarene? If so they will vitalize their beliefs by positive acts; they will throw in the full force of their great power for good and help by all possible means to bring about the suppression of Western tyranny in China and thus restore to a quarter of the world's population their shaken faith in the eternal supremacy of justice.

"The challenge is to the faith of all Christians. China is watching. Your fidelity to religious professions is being tested. Will it be found wanting."

Benefits to Christianity

The fact that there has been a strong anti-Christian movement going on in China for several years, and that the recent disturbances have had a very strong anti-foreign flavor might give a good deal of concern to true lovers of our Lord. There would appear to be reason to fear lest all this upsetting of the mind of China might hinder the cause of Christian work.

We cannot escape the fact that the uproar that has arisen has called out into the open some very difficult problems. While these are far from being solved, it is quite within the bounds of reason to suggest that the very process of meeting them will be a real means of grace and advancement for the cause of Christ in China.

Think if you will of the benefit that accrues to any movement when it is challenged to define itself in unmistakable terms. For years Christian missions have gone on in very much the same quiet way, satisfied that their message was being "put across" in a convincing manner. Then when the whirlwind of doubt and suspicion strikes them they find that different measures are necessary to clarify their meaning. This need not imply that no one in China had yet discovered what Christianity was all about. Many of the Chinese people have entered into a fullness of life with Christ that is thrilling to see. But it does mean that there have been many misapprehensions among the mass of the Chinese as to the purpose of these "foreign devils" in living and preaching this strange doctrine in China. So the anti-Christian movement has challenged Christians to make plain the way of life.

Not the least part of the benefit at this point has come in the stirring of some of the young Chinese Christians. They perhaps have more quickly recognized the opportunity than the missionaries. The result is a fervid enthusiasm to proclaim the truth of Christ. They have written and are writing copiously in a way to reach the understanding of the people. They are beginning to build up a really Chinese statement and defense of the Gospel in terms of the new intellectual awakening. From the standpoint of the voracious intellects of young China—the student groups that are seething with youthful energy—this is of the utmost significance and value. They are able to present the truths of religion in a way that will attract the attention of these surging minds. The fact that Chinese of keen perception who

are in the forefront of the intellectual movement have taken it on their hearts to interpret Christianity to China is one of the most hopeful and satisfying of gains.

There is the added advantage that is the natural result of minds that have become alert. While we were dealing with a passive, apathetic, and indifferent people it was with the greatest difficulty that the claims of Christianity made any impression. The wave of feeling that has swept over China has greatly stirred the imagination of multitudes of the Chinese. This cannot help but provide a much more fertile ground for the sowing of the seed of Christian truth.

Everyone is well enough acquainted with the fundamentals of advertising to realize that all this activity directed against Christianity for the last two or three years has had tremendous publicity value. You cannot shout anathemas at a thing in the market-place and in the public press without letting the object of your curses be known. People may never have considered it worth attention before but when they find a vociferous opposition set up they begin to take notice. The students in their anti-Christian propaganda have rendered a valuable service to the cause of the Gospel. The extent to which it has been noised about has greatly enlarged the circle of those who are potential disciples.

One of the taunts that has long been flung at the students in Christian schools is that they are attending foreign schools, and that they are being denationalized, and have no patriotism. The same thing has been true, to a somewhat lesser extent, in the attitude of the Chinese as a whole toward those who have taken the Christian name. People in this country probably cannot appreciate how deep a stigma this has been, especially in more recent years. Mission students have been very sensitive to this feeling and it has meant no little difficulty for the missionary to be patient with them in the excess of enthusiasm they have felt obliged to express in order to put their accusers in the wrong. This present period of disturbance has given Christians ample opportunity to prove their patriotism. It has been one of the constant efforts of missionaries to stir up in the minds of the Chinese with whom they have dealt a love for their country that would lead them to improve it as a place in which to live. There is no question that through the years the effect of the Christian Gospel in the hearts and minds of the Chinese has had a great deal to do with bringing about the present breakdown of apathy and the resulting disturbances. Any situation that makes demands for a display of real patriotic feeling will find hearty response from the Christians. This element in the present situation must take its place among the benefits.

We would be untrue to our faith if we failed to record the greatest benefit that can come out of any such situation. This is the growth and development of the inner spiritual life of those who live through such trying times. Thinking on various issues may be confused, high feelings may produce violent actions that cause suffering, but when the dust subsides and wisdom rules again there cannot fail to be a

definite increase in the lives of the individuals. Any such experience throws the sincere soul back on God: In the end it produces a more Christ-like way of regarding life. This benefit must inevitably come about in the hearts of Chinese Christians as one of the results of the recent upheaval.

One of the mission boards received word from the Chinese Christians in one of its missions, not long ago, that they had decided that the time had come for them to take over the whole management of the work of the mission. The conviction had been borne in upon them that there could not be a Chinese church until they themselves assumed responsibility for conducting its affairs. They still want the missionary, but they want him to *assist*, no longer to *direct* affairs. Here is a revolution. Do not minimize its importance. Your imagination can build on this event and picture the glory of a new day. This is one of the banners which the sun hangs in the eastern sky to herald his triumphant approach. Now is the time for Christians everywhere to lift their voices in praise and their hearts in prayer that God Himself may give His greatest grace and wisdom to those who live and work through a situation of this kind. Truly you shall see greater things than these.

APPENDICES

I

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CHINA

Professor S. Gale Lowrie, University of Cincinnati

(Extract from a pamphlet prepared for the Conference on American Relations with China)

America and China are bound together by strong material ties. They both flank the Pacific, the highway of the commerce of the future and the area of the most serious problems of the next half century. American trade and commerce is already of the first magnitude and will increase enormously if American capital is to participate in bringing the great undeveloped resources of the Orient to human use. But the ties of sentiment which our religious and cultural associations have knit hold us even more closely. It seems a long time ago, as we record history, that American missionary enterprises began in China. It was in 1829. The movement seemed pitifully weak, the discouraging circumstances overwhelming. A difficult foreign language, a highly developed culture little known in the West, indifference and hostility from officials, prohibitions on travel and on the ownership of property, persecution of converts and a seeming indifference at home formed but a few of the obstacles against which the early missionaries contended. Yet in America hundreds of thousands learned first about China and developed an interest in her through these endeavors, and in China forces were started which are resulting in a great renaissance.

The critical situation in China to-day is largely traceable to the cultural and religious influence the missionaries introduced. They brought to the Chinese schools and hospitals and a desire to know of the learning of the West. One of the most significant movements of history, the sending of thousands of carefully selected Chinese students to the Occident for a Western education that they might return for the dissemination of this culture at home, was strongly affected by missionary influences. The leading force in China to-day is the student. He is directing the groping feeling for nationalism and the demand for a readjustment of relations with the foreign Powers. The Soviets have not created the unrest; they are merely attempting to turn to their own ends forces already at work. Nor is the national consciousness which is being evidenced unwholesome. The Oriental policy of the United States has been to secure, if possible, equal opportunity for all nations in the trade and development of China and to

encourage China herself to become a strong enough power to be the guarantor of this equality. If this policy is to be made effective, a nationally conscious, self-respecting country, jealous of her rights, must evolve. The difficulty at this time arises out of the fact that the relations which have grown up between China and the Powers of the West need readjustment. These rest partly on treaty provisions and are partly the result of other concessions. Because of the interdependence of the treaties, it is difficult for any Power to act alone, and because of the political chaos now prevalent in China, it has not seemed possible as yet to dissociate many of the matters which should be of domestic concern from international control.

China does not enjoy independence in these essential matters and the limitations are in respect to no single Power, but to most of the leading nations of the world. The restrictions have been established usually by treaty, and by interlocking clauses, such as "most favored nation" concessions, China has undertaken to grant that all special privileges and advantages she may concede to any nation will be granted to all the rest as well. Since no country wishes to place its own citizens at a disadvantage, practical unanimity is required to effect any material change. Consequently any grievance or counter claim any nation may wish to interject before consenting to a general reform may prevent the carrying out of the program by the other nations as well.

The fiscal limitations under which China is placed are very severe. The most notable are with respect to the maritime customs. While other nations have unlimited authority in establishing customs tariffs either to secure revenue or for the protection of native industries, China has no such right. Nor did the sacrifice of this power bring her reciprocal commercial advantages. By treaty, first with Great Britain following the Opium War, but made universal by the "most favored nation" clauses, China has entered into unilateral agreements to charge no more than five per cent *ad valorem* customs taxes on goods brought into or taken from the country. Goods from China entering other countries may be charged any amount the importing country desires and China's voice is not heard in protest. But even the five per cent permitted China has been reduced materially in actual practice by a system of agreed values, so that the five per cent is really something less than four per cent. The funds from these customs are collected by a department in which foreigners are employed as principal officers by the Chinese Government.

The sums collected are applied first to the satisfaction of foreign claims against China for which the customs income has been guaranteed as security, and only the surplus is available for the central government. In a similar, though not in so complete a way, foreigners are concerned with the administration of the salt tax and the wine and tobacco revenue. Nor is it conceded that China should be uninfluenced in shaping her other revenue plans. Foreign pressure has been exerted constantly for the abolition of the *likin*, a troublesome, unscientific

tax on goods transferred from place to place within the country. Until China's defeat in the war with Japan (1894), China was free from foreign debt. For one reason or another she has been compelled to obtain money abroad until she now owes almost a billion dollars in gold, including domestic obligations. The loans negotiated by the Chinese, whether foreign or domestic, invariably designate certain revenues to be applied to the interest payments and for the ultimate liquidation of the debt.

The restrictions on the jurisdictional authority of China may be less costly to her exchequer but seem more humiliating. Of first importance among them are to be noted the extraterritorial privileges other nations enjoy. While it is the almost universal rule that persons within a country of whatever nationality, unless they be of the diplomatic corps, are amenable to the laws of that country as interpreted by her courts and administered by her officials, in China citizens of most of the European and American Powers are free from the native laws and answerable only to those of their own respective countries. These laws are applied either by the consuls of the countries of the nationals involved or by special national courts which have been set up for that purpose. Moreover, there are in certain of the larger cities special areas known as "concessions" within which all governmental matters are under foreign control and on occasion the Chinese may be forbidden even to enter these areas. Those permitted to come in may be subject to such restrictions as the foreigners impose. These restrictions are often humiliating. No taxes are paid to China by the foreigners in these concessions but both Chinese and foreigners, living or carrying on business therein, pay taxes to the foreign concession. In the Shanghai settlement, the Chinese constitute over seventy per cent of the population and pay more taxes than residents of any other nationality, yet they have no voice at all in the selection of governmental officials nor influence on their policies. While some matters pertaining to the government of the Shanghai foreign settlement are determined by the foreign rate-payers, the governing commission itself meets in secret session to which none, be he foreigner or Chinese, is admitted. Even in Peking, the national capital, which is not a treaty port, the diplomatic quarter in the heart of the city is governed exclusively by the diplomatic corps and Chinese are permitted to enter only under limitations. It is as restricted, so far as they are concerned, as though it were a military reservation, this resulting from the Boxer uprising in 1900, when the legations were under siege for two months.

In 1898 there began a series of "leases" under which foreign governments secured control over Chinese territory, although sovereignty, at least nominally, remained with the Empire. Under this system Germany acquired Kiaochow in Shantung; Russia secured Port Arthur and the Kwantung Peninsula; Great Britain, Weihaiwei, and Kowloon, opposite Hongkong; and France, Kwanchow-wan. All of these leases were for ninety-nine years. These arrangements were changed when Japan secured, by the Russo-Japanese war, the Russian lease and by

the Treaty of Versailles, the German lease. The latter Japan returned to China under the terms of the Washington treaties of 1922; the former is still in Japan's possession. Until recently, foreign governments operated post offices in the principal Chinese cities where foreigners resided. The withdrawal of these was one of the fruits of the Washington treaties. Foreign loans for the building and operation of railways have carried with them a certain measure of foreign control in their administration. Coastwise shipping and shipping in inland waters, which most countries reserve exclusively for their citizens, is engaged in extensively by foreigners. In still another way China's independence has been limited. She has made agreements from time to time that whenever commercial or industrial developments of certain kinds are to be undertaken, these shall be entrusted exclusively to the nationals of certain Powers. These nations do not guarantee that their citizens will utilize these grants; the provisions are merely that no others may be permitted to exploit these concessions. The agreements are unilateral, often made all too casually, and sometimes upon the personal responsibility of an official. They may be unknown to the world at large or even to the Chinese Government itself till objection is made to some development the government has in view.

But while the Western Powers have many dark pages in the record of their dealings with the Chinese, many of the methods which now seem to impair China's sovereignty most seriously were instituted with no purpose of limiting her independence but as the best solutions at hand for difficult situations, trying to foreigner and native alike. Many of them have greatly profited the Chinese. The limitation on the amount of the customs tariff was contained in the Treaty of Nan-king of 1842 and in the commerce treaty of the following year. These treaties opened certain "treaty ports" and provided for "concessions" or "settlements" within them. The provision for a five per cent tariff which now seems so grossly inadequate, was in lieu of a series of local charges and imposts which had formerly been charged. It was not so much to get a cheap rate as to simplify a complicated and annoying series of practices. This was its chief virtue for the foreigner; for the Imperial Government it provided a form of revenue not enjoyed up to that time, and established an economical and fairly certain method of collection. It was almost clear fiscal gain for China. The plan of foreign administration of the maritime customs came quite by accident and was not for the purpose of assuring the payment of foreign debts. During the Taiping rebellion in 1853, the question arose at Shanghai as to the proper officials to whom the customs charges should be paid. As a temporary expedient, foreign merchants adopted the practice of declaring their goods and paying the required duties before their consuls. The consuls were to see that these funds reached the proper governmental officials. Soon after, the method was modified so that payments were made to three foreigners, a Britisher, an American and a Frenchman, appointed by the Chinese local customs official. This plan worked admirably and was extended to all treaty ports. It is the

most efficient administrative institution in China to-day. It has extended its services to the surveying of rivers and harbors and coastal waters, the establishment of lighthouses, the publication of trade statistics, the establishment of the Chinese post office, of the language schools, and the protection of the public health in port cities. In the disorganized state of governmental affairs its services have seemed almost indispensable. Undoubtedly the Chinese would desire that it should be the last of the foreign controlled institutions to be put entirely in Chinese hands. Yet it would seem to have been administered with too little regard for the fact that it is a service which the Chinese themselves should ultimately control. It has not trained Chinese for the more responsible positions. The head is a British subject and the staff is composed both of nationals of countries with treaty relations and commerce with China and of Chinese. While the appointment of the Inspector General is in the hands of the Chinese, the British Government is not without influence in his selection. His power over the staff is very complete. Nor have the Powers hesitated to use the force of their navies to see that these customs officials are uninterrupted in their duties. This is partly because the proceeds of the customs have been pledged for foreign loans.

II

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

By Professor W. W. Willoughby of Johns Hopkins University
(Extract from a pamphlet prepared for the Conference on American Relations with China)

Whatever advantages may result from the exercise by the Powers of extraterritorial rights in China, the following objections to the system exist:

1. The whole system is in derogation of the dignity of a great and civilized people.
2. Because of this, its enforced existence tends powerfully to create an anti-foreign feeling.
3. The system deters China from opening up her entire territory to full foreign settlement and unrestricted commercial intercourse.
4. It necessitates a multiplicity of courts, that is, different courts for the nationals of each of the Powers that enjoy extraterritorial rights.
5. It necessitates the appreciation of diverse laws. Thus, if several persons of different nationalities are engaged in the same transactions, not only must each of them be proceeded against in different courts, but their legal rights and responsibilities must be determined by different laws.
6. In not a few cases, it is found that there are no laws applicable to the facts involved.

7. The Chinese injured by the criminal acts of nationals of the other Powers have no way of knowing whether the sentences imposed are actually carried out.

8. In many cases the inconvenience of taking the offender before the nearest consular court as required by the treaties, and then of producing the necessary witnesses or other evidence, makes it practically impossible for the Chinese who have been injured by the acts of foreigners to take any action whatever in order to obtain redress. As to this, the following may be quoted from a recent volume by a highly educated Chinese scholar, Dr. Ching-Lin Hsia, entitled *Studies in Chinese Diplomatic History*. Doctor Hsia says:

It is universally known that a Chinese is not in the habit of seeking justice at the law courts, and least of all at foreign institutions of which he knows nothing. Therefore it is not to be expected that a Chinese would bring any ordinary complaints against any British (or other foreign) subject to the "nearest consul," whose consulate may be situated at a distance of one, two, or five hundred miles away from the place where the civil (or criminal) injury took place, even if he could be sure that justice was on his side and he could afford the necessary expense and trouble to undertake the required journey thither to receive his scanty justice. . . . Few Chinese know anything about treaties and fewer still understand the working of them. . . . In China there exist no such professional lawyers who can explain this complicated system to an intending plaintiff and furnish him such information as to enable him to proceed confidently to the particular consulate of the district. . . . Thus, in theory, a Chinese may always have redress against an alien in his consular court; in practice, however, there are many difficulties in the way of language, difference in court procedure, disparity of punishments of the two systems, and the complexities of western law. The natural result is that the Chinese would decide to swallow his grievance without recourse to law, and he would console himself with a bitter determination that never again would he have any more dealing with foreigners.

9. From the very nature of this authority the extraterritorial courts have little or no authority over the plaintiffs in the suit brought before them. From this lack of authority it results that these plaintiffs cannot be punished for perjuries or contempts committed by them in the course of the proceedings. Furthermore, these courts are not competent to consider legitimate set-offs or counterclaims which may be brought forward, the validity of such set-offs or counterclaims being determinable only in the Chinese courts since they are in the nature of actions in which the Chinese appear as defendants.

10. In general, the extraterritorial courts, being held by consuls, are not administered by persons technically trained in the law. The justice that is had is thus often of the most haphazard character. In many cases there is no appeal from consular decisions for the correction of legal errors, and, when there is a right of appeal, the costs, in most cases, are sufficient to deter the plaintiffs from exercising the right.

11. Finally, it cannot be denied that the consular or other officials holding the extraterritorial courts are under a strong temptation, which in many cases they cannot resist, to favor the sides of their own na-

tionals who are the defendants in the cases brought before them. The partiality thus displayed is undoubtedly considerable, and in the consular courts of certain countries is so great that almost never is a verdict against the defendant obtained.

III

LETTER TO SENATOR BORAH FROM 211 AMERICANS IN NORTH CHINA

Summer of 1925

HONORABLE SIR:

We, the undersigned American citizens, resident in North China, have read with great interest the press dispatches reporting your stand in favor of the retrocession of extraterritorial rights and opposing armed intervention in China.

While refraining, as yet, from passing any public judgment with regard to the events in Shanghai of May 30th and following, which we believe to be but an incident revealing deep and new undercurrents of feeling in the Chinese nation, we venture to address you in order to express our approval of the stand you are reported to have taken. We believe that the United States should take such a position, for the following reasons:

(1) We regard the present Chinese nation-wide movement as the expression of a growing patriotism which is fundamentally not anti-foreign, but which is a justifiable protest against existing treaties no longer acceptable to a self-respecting nation. We believe that this movement shows an increasing and healthy interest, on the part of the Chinese people, in the affairs of their nation and a growing inclination to express public opinion on public questions. We feel that on such an interest of a people in their national affairs and on enlightened public opinion must be laid the foundations of any democracy.

(2) We believe that non-intervention and the expressed purpose of retrocession of extraterritoriality will serve to assure the Chinese nation of our continued and increasing friendship and that such an act of international good will, at such a time, will do much to allay what fear or suspicion there may be in China of foreign aggression or oppression, and will create an atmosphere favorable to the solution of the present difficulties and to mutual understanding and good will.

(3) We are convinced that, not to mention personal safety, American enterprise in China, particularly business and missionary enterprise, is fundamentally dependent for its success upon the friendship and good will of the Chinese people. It is upon this solid foundation that we desire to have our work rest, rather than upon unwelcome treaties or armed force.

(4) We feel that conditions in China have reached a point where extensive military intervention in the present situation by foreign Powers, in order to protect foreign enterprises, would, so far as the missionary work is concerned, not only alienate the good will of the

Chinese, but practically render useless any further attempts by foreigners to preach the Christian message of love and human brotherhood in this country.

In conclusion, we would not presume to outline the actual steps to be taken, but we would express the eager hope that our Government will avail itself of this great opportunity for proving again its sincere friendship for China and, by whatever measures seem best, will accord the most generous treatment possible to this great nation at this critical moment of her spiritual awakening.

Respectfully yours,

(SIGNED BY 211 AMERICANS.)

IV

A COMMUNICATION TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER, PEKING

(Signed by Some 200 American Citizens Resident in Nanking)

Nanking, China, June 28, 1925.

TO THE HON. JOHN V. A. MACMURRAY,
American Minister, Peking, China.

SIR: We, the undersigned, American citizens in Nanking, respectfully submit the following:

We deeply deplore the fact that although a month has elapsed since the Nanking Road tragedy in Shanghai, no joint commission has made an impartial investigation of the affair and the causes leading up to it. Many conflicting reports have been issued by interested parties. Hence, we believe that until such a commission with adequate Chinese as well as foreign representation is appointed, and its official findings are published, there will be no mutual trust and permanent good will between the Chinese and citizens of other countries.

We are firmly convinced that the Chinese people are peculiarly susceptible to reason and the arguments of justice and righteousness, when these are adequately presented. We are confident that if properly chosen representatives, who understand the psychology and customs of China, will make this investigation, they can suggest a solution of the present conflict that should be acceptable to all parties. We, therefore, respectfully urge that the representatives of the American Government in China use their influence to secure the appointment of such a commission to make a thorough investigation of the tragedy.

Recognizing, moreover, that the present trouble is an expression of deep resentment on the part of the Chinese against what they consider foreign discrimination and injustice, we further respectfully urge:

1. That the Government of the United States of America continue its highly commendable policy of seeking such a revision of treaties with China as shall be mutually just and advisable. We recognize the

good will and new attitude toward China which was manifested by the nations participating in the Washington Conference, and we deeply appreciate the interest and the efforts of the American Government in bringing about a more just relationship between China and the other nations. We also recognize the difficulties within China, and without, that have been met in making the new diplomacy effective. Nevertheless, it is our conviction that the American Government should continue to urge upon China the willingness and the desire of the American people to proceed with this important matter.

2. That the Government of the United States of America use its influence in every legitimate way to bring about such changes as shall result in China being treated as an equal in all international relations, and that China, on the other hand, be asked to fulfill the essential conditions and meet the obligations of such a relationship.

3. That the officials of the American Government use their influence in all legitimate ways to restrain our own representatives, or those of other nations, from adopting a policy dependent upon military force as an active element in the solution of the present trouble.

We pledge ourselves to endeavor by word and deed to dissuade our Chinese friends from adopting methods of violence and force, at the same time urging them to work for the speedy establishment of a more stable and responsible government.

In conclusion, we pledge our allegiance to the high ideals which have hitherto led the Government of the United States of America and its citizens to promote peaceful, friendly, and mutually helpful relations with the people of China. It is because we do not wish to see these friendly relations impaired, but increasingly promoted, that we have submitted the above statements.

V

STATEMENT REGARDING THE CHINA SITUATION

Issued by Committee of Reference and Counsel, Foreign Missions
Conference of North America, 25 Madison Avenue, New York,

July 7, 1925

The newspapers of July 2nd carried the announcement that the Government of the United States is prepared to meet with the other Powers in conference in regard to carrying out the provisions of the Treaties and the accompanying Resolutions relating to China, which were adopted by the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament in 1921-22.

Secretary Kellogg's announcement has been received with profound satisfaction by officers, members and supporters of the Boards and Societies interested in, and cooperating with, the Christian Movement in China. We hope that the suggestion of the Government of the United States will be acted on favorably by the other Powers signatory to the Washington treaties. The representatives of the Signatory

Powers were agreed when they met in Washington that it was desirable "to safeguard the rights and interests of China"; and to this end the Treaties relating to China were concluded and the accompanying resolutions adopted.

Information reaching us from China, through trustworthy sources, indicates that the prolonged delay in bringing about the arrangements for the relief of China contemplated in the Washington Treaties and Resolutions has created serious misunderstandings on the part of the Chinese people.

At this distance from China we are not competent to form an opinion as to the responsibility of those involved in the reported local disturbances but we record our conviction that a permanent settlement of the difficulties existing in China will be effected, not by the use of (or by the show of) force, but by friendly conference between those concerned.

While believing that China's greatest and most difficult problems are within herself and that their solution involves the establishment of stable and just government, the realization of national unity, and the adoption and enforcement of enlightened laws, we believe justice to China demands the readjustment of the treaty relations between China and other nations as suggested at the Washington Conference; and that, until these Treaties are readjusted, there will inevitably continue to be misunderstandings between China and other nations. We identify ourselves with those who are endeavoring to secure justice for China in all her relations with the other nations because it is the simple and inalienable right of China.

Signed by the Secretaries of Boards and Societies carrying on work in China, and chairman and secretaries of the Committee of Reference and Counsel.

VI

REPORT ADOPTED AT AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Johns Hopkins University, September 17-20, 1925

(From a summary by Dr. A. L. Warnshuis)

"Generally speaking we are agreed that extraterritoriality should be abolished and that customs autonomy should be given to China. There is danger that our differences may be exaggerated. There are divergences of view, but I believe in fundamental principle we are agreed. We are not altogether agreed regarding the process to be adopted or the program to be followed in carrying this principle into effect. That is to say, we are not fully agreed at this time whether the abolition of extraterritoriality or the giving of customs autonomy should be by one stroke or whether it should be by progressive stages.

"I think the meeting this afternoon and the conference has recognized that the method of approach to the Chinese people and government is of extreme importance. There is a great deal of difference

between our making demands upon the Chinese people and referring promises from them to us. There is a good deal of difference between our insisting that they must do certain things first of all and their coming to us in return for assurances that we give them with promises that they will on their part do certain things that will make possible the realization of these things upon which we are agreed.

"With reference to this question of time and method and program, we recognize that these are questions that a conference like this cannot deal with. They are questions which necessarily must be referred to such international bodies as the Customs Conference which is meeting in Peking on October 26th and to the Commission on Extraterritoriality which is meeting in Peking on December 18th. In both of these bodies the Chinese Government and the governments that have signed the Nine-Power Treaty and those who have later shown their adherence to that treaty, will be represented by formally appointed delegates sent by each of these governments. We hope there in that meeting these parties meeting on a platform of complete equality will be able to come to an agreement, as friends and brothers in a great family of nations.

"Further, with reference to the opportunity and responsibility of the United States Government, the opinion was expressed that the United States Government should take a position of vigorous leadership in these international negotiations. Up to the time of the full realization of the Washington treaties we hope that our government will continue to press strongly for the agreement of all the Powers concerned in order that all of them may faithfully, as we know they all intend to, carry out the promises and programs which were outlined in those treaties and resolutions adopted in Washington in 1901.

"Upon the completion of the Customs Conference and the Commission on Extraterritoriality, we do not believe that the action of our government should depend upon the complete agreement of all of these Powers concerned, for the simple reason that we think that our government should not be delayed in determining its own policy by the action or the failure to act by one or more of the Powers who have comparatively small interests in the Pacific and in the Far East and in China.

"It was pointed out at the meeting this afternoon that among the Powers signatory to these treaties there are certainly five Powers who have more poignant interest in the Pacific and in China—China herself, Japan, Great Britain, France, and the United States.

"We hope that our government will most earnestly endeavor to work, and in the most effective way possible, to secure the agreement of these five Powers in carrying out the recommendations which will be made by the conference in October and the commission that meets in December. But at the same time our government should have the firm purpose of acting independently if it is found impossible within a reasonable time to secure the concurrent action of these other four Powers—the other three in addition to China that I have mentioned."

VII

MESSAGE OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL TO THE CHRISTIANS IN CHINA

Adopted by the Executive Committee, July 16, 1925

"In the first place, in the midst of sorrow, confusion, indignation and embarrassment, we feel very keenly the need that all we Christian people, Chinese and foreign alike, should stand together in one fellowship, quieting our minds and souls before God and trying to hear His voice. How difficult it has proved to ascertain the facts of the tragic events in Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, and other places! How easy to jump to hasty conclusions and to pass judgment! How much misunderstanding has already been caused by ill-advised or prejudiced persons? Under the circumstances, we firmly believe it to be the duty of all Christians to refrain from passing judgment at present. Let us rather advocate thorough investigation and insist upon full justice being done. We believe this to be the voice of God, and this voice all people, Christians and non-Christians alike, must heed.

"In the second place, we would clearly point out that the present difficulties did not rise like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. They have much unpleasant history behind them. Many people of different nationalities, races, and creeds have openly advocated that all causes of misunderstanding, ill-feeling, malice, jealousy, enmity, and hate, should be studied and removed.

"What, then, are some of these causes? Space does not permit us to enumerate them all. However, it is important to mention among others the following:

"Internal Causes: Militarism and Civil War; Political Corruption; Banditry; Poverty; the Curse of Opium, Morphia and Other Narcotics; Ignorance of the Masses; Mental Unrest of the Student Class; Resentment Against Unequal Treaties; etc.

"External Causes: Foreign Aggression and Domination; Unequal Treaties; Racial Pride; Smuggling of Opium, Other Narcotics, and Firearms; Lack of Understanding of the Chinese Temperament and Aspirations; etc.

"We can hardly believe that Christians whether Chinese or foreign will want to spend any time in arguing as to which of the countries concerned, China or some foreign country, should be the first to remove the causes. Is it not safe and right for us to assume that, in accordance with Christian principles, neither China nor any foreign country concerned would wish to allow any of these things to continue? Not only that, should not we Christians definitely acknowledge the above-mentioned things as the basic causes of our present crisis and offer our very best service to remove them? Furthermore, should we not take prompt steps to promote a better understanding between and appreciation of China and the foreign Powers and to reestablish

the cordial relationships among them? To fail to perform this important duty is just as serious as to sow the seed for another world war.

"In the third place, we wish to state that Christianity, patriotism, and good citizenship are not necessarily opposed to each other. To be a Christian does not at all mean to be unpatriotic or to surrender one's rights of citizenship. We are not dealing with that kind of narrow and selfish patriotism and citizenship which is really un-Christian and of which we see so much around us. To us, a Christian should be the highest type of patriot and the noblest example of citizen. A Christian cannot but be opposed to a patriotism which is bigoted, blind, or prejudiced; he can have no use for a citizen who loves his own country at the expense of other countries. A Christian does not defend his country, right or wrong; but he always stands for the right even if this position will align him against his own country on any particular occasion. Still, he is ever ready to assist his country to move forward in the path of righteousness, justice and peace, and he is second to none in this service. He holds himself in readiness to render this assistance to other countries as well. Cannot we Christians, foreigners and Chinese alike, during this terrible crisis clearly exhibit our Christian citizenship which includes, but rises above, our respective national citizenship, and our Christian patriotism which seeks not only the good of our own country but also of other countries? In facing the tragic events of the past weeks, can we not rise above our narrow national or racial limitations? Can we not be Christians first of all, and then citizens of our respective countries?

"In the fourth place, it is necessary for us to point out that during a crisis of this kind, if we are not careful, all our baser feelings, un-Christian attitudes, and materialistic tendencies will get the better of us and lead us astray on the one hand; and a feeling of despondency, a revengeful spirit, and most disturbing doubts of not only the reign but also the existence of God will haunt us on the other. Have we Christians in China no ministry for this situation? Must we allow ourselves to fall into either of these groups? God forbid! By all means, we should make a supreme effort to lift ourselves as well as the people of different countries concerned way above any idea of, or desire for, national aggrandizement, vainglory, pride, prestige, military prowess and domination, selfishness, vengeance, and hate. More than that, we should expound and represent the Christian viewpoint of right versus might, of humility, righteousness, justice, forgiveness, and love. Most vital of all, we should emphasize and help make real the spiritual basis of the world and the universe. It is not any temporal powers, however strong and formidable at the time, but the spiritual that will conquer, transcend and endure. It is these that will be blessed of God.

"In the fifth place, we wish to point out an open secret that the very foundation of the Christian faith of many people has been shaken by the present situation. Men and women are asking if Christianity is a practical and all-adequate religion, and if the Christian

way of life is a practical and all-adequate way of life. Indeed, these are most serious and challenging questions which we cannot ignore or escape. They must be given satisfactory and satisfying answers, and this right soon. Can the Christian way of life be practiced by an individual even when his personal or national interests are at stake? Is not the Christian way of life at best a way for the individual; or, can it be applied also to the economic, social, and political life of a people? Does this way of life have any influence on the international and interracial life of the world? Can we Christians, both as individuals and in our corporate relationships, answer these questions not only affirmatively but also concretely? Can we or should we seek to evade them or turn a deaf ear to them?

"What about the long accepted principle that the Church should not meddle with politics? We must agree that the Church should not meddle, if by that we mean for the Church to seek to control the government or actually to interfere with its functions. The history of European countries furnishes us with many illustrations of the disastrous results, both to the state and to the Church, when they failed to distinguish clearly between their respective functions and when the Church attempted to control the policies and acts of governments. On the other hand, if political powers violate any or all of the Christian principles of life, should the Church remain silent and passive? We do not see how the Church can ever be absolved from its sin in failing to give itself to the expression of the principles of the Prince of Peace against the military programs which led to the great war—a war which later made not only Europe but the entire world to sustain unprecedented losses and the calamitous consequences of which will be felt by future generations. This sin was committed in the name of "not-meddling-with-politics." Shall churches and missions in China follow the same course? One of the immediate tasks before the churches and missions is to thoroughly study afresh and together this whole question of the relation of church and state in the light of modern conditions in China to-day.

"It is, however, evident that if Christianity is to survive as God's way of life, as being practical, all-adequate, and uplifting, each individual Christian must think, speak, and act in accordance with Christ's principles no matter what interests, private, group, or national, are at stake. Thus Christianity will penetrate and transform the economic, social, and political life of the people; and it will reign supreme in all internal relations. It is inconceivable that certain areas of life should be shut out from the Christian way or influence. God reigns over the entire universe and not merely over a section of it. He does not divide His realm with either Mammon or Mars.

"In the last place, should we not seriously consider what the state of organized Christianity in China is to-day? There are more than one hundred separate Christian organizations which are by no means all working harmoniously together. We see traces of misunderstanding, jealousy, strife, and ill-feeling among them. May we pause

for a moment also to consider the relationships existing between the churches and missions. Are they happy? Do we see clearly how the transfer of the work, if such transfer is possible or desirable, from the missions to the churches is to be made? Have not the missions, as a whole, carried too much ecclesiastical baggage over from the West? Do our troubles arise, if we are troubled at all, from real Christianity itself or from this excessive baggage? In short, is the organization of Christianity as we find it in China to-day satisfactory and satisfying? Or, in view of the situation here, do we feel the need of certain changes in it which may be more helpful to the life of the people in China? If so, what changes? Is it not high time for us quickly, sincerely, humbly, before God to find out the needs and aspirations of the Chinese people and with diligence press forward and onward toward our ultimate goal? We must preserve and utilize the best of our Christian inheritance, and, while faithful to God's Word, be courageous to discard those extraneous things which are of no real value to-day. Certainly, we should retain the best contributions in the Christianity from the West, and again we should not hesitate to incorporate into the life of the Christian Church in China the most helpful and inspiring elements of Chinese civilization. Such a commingling of the best of different civilizations not only will not obscure the face of our Father in heaven but will surely reveal His very nature to us in clearer and more forceful ways. The churches and missions should at the earliest possible moment make a most critical but constructive study of organized Christianity as it exists in China to-day and introduce those changes which will make the Christian way of life more effective, helpful, and better in accord with the ideals and practices of Chinese life.

"The N. C. C. firmly believes that this is the time of all times when the churches and missions in China need to take time to behold God's face, to understand better His nature as revealed in Christ and the Cross of Christ, to grasp His Holy Will, to study His Word, to meditate, to pray, to intercede and to live Christ in the fullest sense. It is our sincerest hope that this message may at least call the attention of Christians everywhere both to the seriousness and the hopefulness of the present situation, may stimulate them to clear thinking, courageous planning and action, so as to reveal Christ more perfectly to the people of China and of the world."

VIII

RESOLUTIONS WITH REGARD TO EXISTING TREATIES IN CHINA

Adopted by unofficial meeting of eighty-six officers and members of thirty-seven Mission Boards and Societies of the United States and Canada working in China held in New York, October 2 and 3, 1925.

This unofficial meeting, composed of officers and members of Missionary Boards and Societies, of the United States and Canada that are working in China, called to consider the present conditions of missionary work in China, adopts the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, We heartily sympathize with China in her aspirations for just, equal, and fraternal relations with other nations and in her sense of the present injustice of existing treaties, and,

WHEREAS, We believe that the developments that have taken place in China in the course of several decades necessitate the revision of the existing treaties between China and other Powers; therefore, be it

Resolved,

1. With reference to the existing treaties:

That we urge the early revision of the treaties with China in such a way as to give effective application to the following principles agreed upon in the treaty signed by nine Powers in Washington on February 6, 1922, namely:

Article 1. "The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

- (1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;
- (2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;
- (3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;
- (4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

2. With reference to extraterritorial jurisdiction:

- a. That we express ourselves in favor of the abolition of extraterritoriality in China at an early date.
- b. That we further express the opinion that the determination of that date and of the provisions that may be considered mutually desirable should be undertaken cooperatively on terms of equality by China and the other Powers.

3. With reference to the treaty provisions according special privileges to missions and missionaries:

- a. That when our respective governments negotiate the new treaties which are so urgently needed, we wish it to be understood that we do not desire any distinctive privileges for missions and missionaries imposed by treaty upon the Chinese Government and people.

- b. That correlatively we consider it desirable that the Chinese Government by such legislation as may be deemed necessary define the rights and privileges of missionaries, in particular to acquire and hold property and to carry forward their work in China.
- c. We also express our desire and judgment that the principle of religious liberty should be reciprocally recognized in all future relationships between China and other nations.